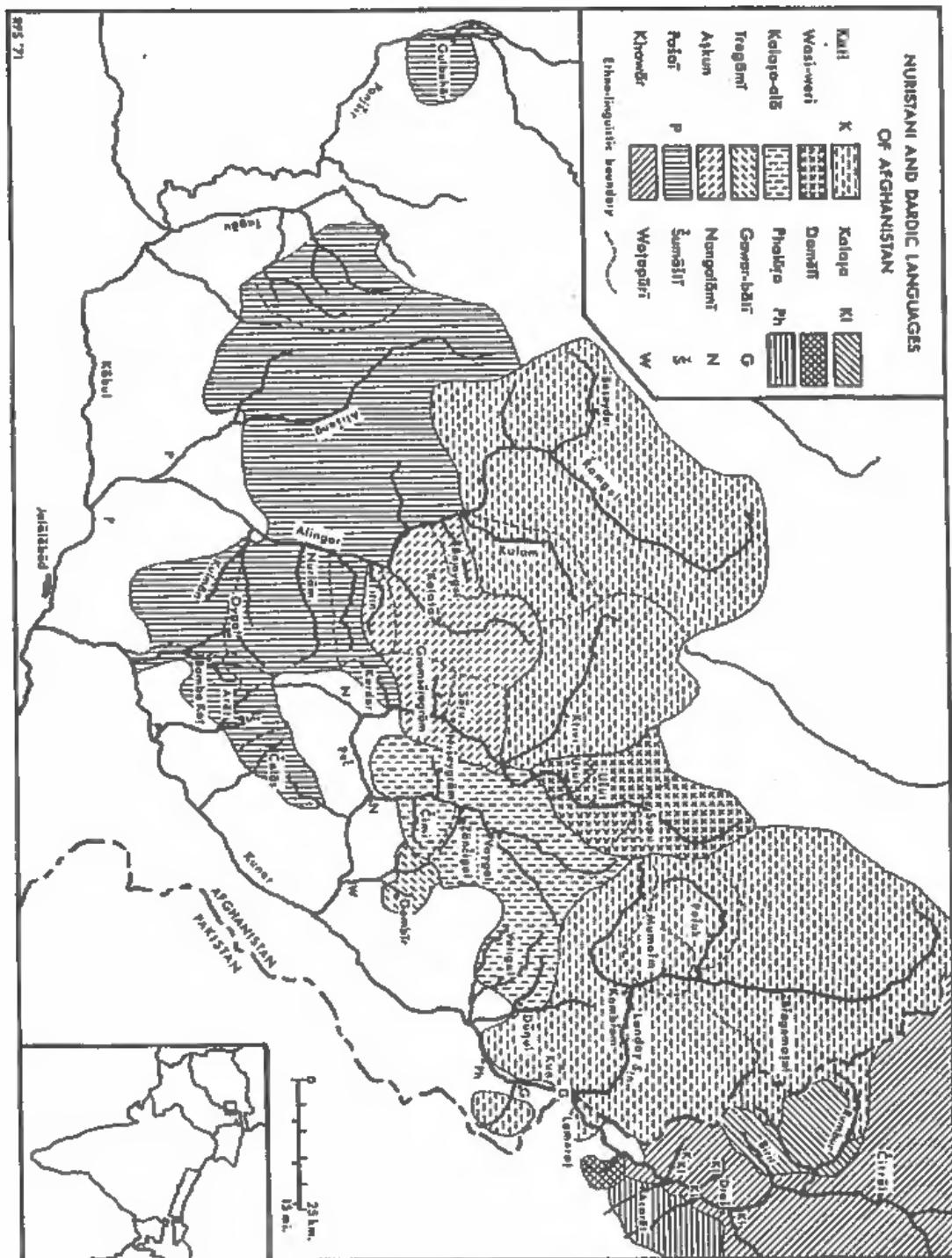


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301

MAP 1



STRAND: Notes on the Nuristani and Dardic Languages



Notes on the Kuristani
and Dardic
Languages

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NOTES ON THE NÜRISTĀN AND DARDIC LANGUAGES

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Recent articles by Voegelin and Voegelin (1965) and Kachru (1969) presented erroneous lists of the so-called "Dardic" languages. These listings were based on Grierson's now outdated classification, and they did not reflect the clear division between the Nüristān (Kūfir) languages, which constitute a separate branch of Indo-Iranian, and the other Dardic languages, which are Indo-Aryan, as stated by Morgenstierne (1961). The present article points out the errors in the Voegelins' and Kachru's lists and updates Morgenstierne's scheme in the light of recent field research in the Hindu-Kush region of Afghanistan.

RECENTLY TWO ARTICLES APPEARED which surveyed the so-called Dardic languages (Voegelin & Voegelin 1965, Kachru 1969). On the basis of my field research in Afghanistan I have noted numerous errors in these survey articles. In the present article I shall draw attention to a more accurate version of linguistic distributions in the Dardic area.¹

The most recent authoritative classification of Dardic languages was presented by Morgenstierne (1961).² This classification was apparently known to the Voegelins and Kachru. Although lack of space did not allow Morgenstierne to present the full linguistic evidence for his classification, his pre-eminence in the study of languages of the Indo-Iranian frontier area would lead us to accept his classification as the most

Ency. of Islam

I resided in Afghanistan for twenty-seven months during 1967-69, gathering material for a grammar and dictionary of the Kamviri dialect of Kati. Most of my work was carried out in the village of Kumbkot (Kumbkot), Kunarha Province, in eastern Nüristān. My work was partially supported by grants from the Asia Program of Cornell University and from Harkness College, Columbia University.

am indebted to Gerald L. Kelley for his comments on earlier draft of this paper.

Shahrestani (1964) bases his classification on Morgenstierne's scheme; he uses "Dardic" for Morgenstierne's "Kūfir" (denoted here as "Nüristān"), and "Northern Group" for Morgenstierne's "Dardic" (Shahrestani 1964: 42). Nāma's article (1963), cited by both (1965: 287) and the Voegelins (1965: 285), does appear to warrant consideration as an authoritative

accurate, if still tentative, one produced so far. In particular, it supersedes Grierson's 1919 classification, upon which the Voegelins and Kachru base their surveys.

The important points of Morgenstierne's classification are (1) that there is a clear distinction between the Nüristān (Kūfir) languages and the rest, and (2) that there is no linguistic justification for placing the remaining non-Nüristān languages in a single "Dardic" group. Regarding the first point Morgenstierne says, after presenting some of the major distinguishing features of the Nüristān group:

We are, therefore, entitled to posit the existence of a third branch of [Indo-]Ir[anian], agreeing generally with [Indo-]Aryan, but being situated on the Ir side of some of the isoglosses which, taken as a whole, constitute the borderline between IA and Ir. This branch [Nüristān] had also retained archisms of its own, and must have separated from the others at a very early date. (1961: 139)

On the second point Morgenstierne states:

I propose the term *Nüristāni* as a replacement for Morgenstierne's "Kūfir" (Morgenstierne 1932: 63, fn. 2). These languages are spoken almost entirely within the confines of the area of northeastern Afghanistan known as Nüristān (formerly Kūristān), and the term *Nüristāni* is universally applied in Afghanistan, by natives of Nüristān as well as by outsiders, to denote the languages and peoples of Nüristān. On the other hand, there is no word more insulting or provocative to the devoutly Moslem Nüristāni than *kafir* ('infidel'), and if for no reason other than courtesy, the appellation "Kūfir" must not be used in reference to these people or their languages.

Map
Included
Now

*Send note
to Dayton
& Wagner
about this to
correct their
error*

The [non-Nüristān] languages . . . contain absolutely no features which cannot be derived from Old IA . . . There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages . . . Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill languages, which in their relative isolation . . . have been in a varying degree sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (*Madhyadeśa*) innovations, being left free to develop on their own. (1961: 139)

In keeping with these two points, I shall use Nüristān to designate the "third branch" of Indo-Iranian, which includes the languages Kati, Wasweri, Aşkun, Kalaşa-alā, and Tregāmū (if the latter is indeed a separate language rather than a dialect of Kalaşa-alā),⁴ and I shall use Dardic to designate, in an areal rather than a phylogenetic sense, the group of "aberrant" northwest Indo-Aryan "hill languages."

Since the publication of Morgenstierne's classification a few investigators have made further observations on the distribution of dialects in and around Nüristān. New data on Wasweri and Pašai come from the field observations of Georg Buddruss and R. Lincoln Keiser, respectively. Data on the major valley of eastern Nüristān, from the village of Bragāmatol (Bargomatol, Barge Matol) to the Kunar River, are based on my own first-hand knowledge of the area, while data on other parts of Nüristān are based on the observations of my native inform-

⁴ Throughout this paper I employ native names for languages and dialects when such names are known to me. Thus I use *Kalaşa-alā* instead of "Waigali" and *Wasweri* instead of "Prasun." I follow the nomenclature established by other field investigators in cases in which I am unfamiliar with native usage (e.g., Tregāmū), or in cases in which no native name exists to cover all dialects of the language (e.g., "Kati," "Aşkun").

⁵ In particular, I am indebted to Qazi Ghulām Ullāh of Ptiyil and Mohammad Anvār of Kōmbēn for information on the situation regarding Kānvīri in Pakistan and the area east of the Kunar River. Mohammad Ahsan Nūristāni of Niseygrām kindly supplied me with information on Kalaşa-alā. Data on the Adzīn area were obtained in Kōmbēn from Muhammad Ahsan, a native of Sōra. In Kati I worked briefly with a mullah from Lālā in Qatagh, who provided me with information on the linguistic situation in western Nüristān.

ants.⁵ This recent information is summarized here (see Map 1 on p. 301).⁶

Kati (Başgali) has three major dialects: Katāvīri, Kānvīri, and Memvīri. Katāvīri is spoken by members of the Katā tribe.⁷ It is divided into two major subdialects: Western Katāvīri and Eastern Katāvīri. Western Katāvīri is further subdivided into the dialects of Rangāl, Kulāni, Kīli (Kantivo), and Pāruk (Pupruk), which correspond to geographic and subtribal divisions in the area. The differentiating characteristics of these dialects have yet to be analyzed. Katā inhabitants of the westernmost valleys of Nüristān, in the environs of Kanégai and Basydyor, have been Persian-speaking since they were subjugated for a generation by people from Panjšir shortly after the Afghan conquest of Kāfiristān (Nüristān) in 1806. Eastern Katāvīri is spoken in Bragāmatol and other villages in the upper Landay Sūn (Başgal) basin (except for the Pāruk

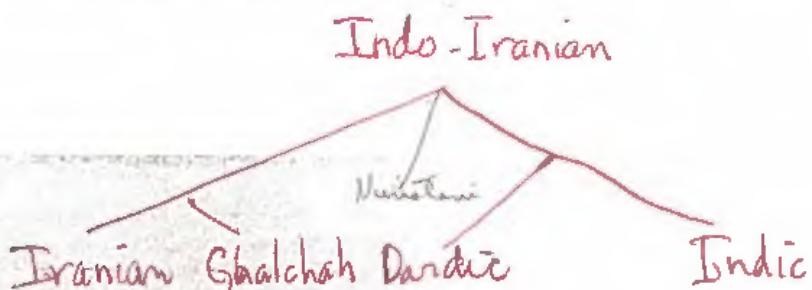
⁶ Names of dialects and places are given in a transcription which represents the phonemic system of the local dialect, when known. Names from eastern Nüristān are given in the Kānvīri dialect, with the exception of Bragāmatol, which is Eastern Katāvīri, and Pāruk, which is Western Katāvīri. The (taxonomic) phonemes of Kānvīri are listed here for reference:

consonants:	vowels:
p t ḡ k	ɪ ʊ u
b d ḡ g	e ə o
c ě ġ	a
j ſ ſ	i ɨ ʉ
s ſ ſ	ə ə
z ſ ſ	ə ə
m n ŋ	
r l	
v y	

nasalization: -
stress: -

To these are added the recently adopted "Islamic" phonemes /x j q h h'/, which are used to a varying extent by different speakers. Katāvīri appears to lack /z ſ ſ/ (but note that /z/ is phonetically [z] in most Katāvīri dialects). My incomplete data on the Sōra dialect of Aşkun indicate that its phonemic inventory is that of the above list minus /ʃ ſ ſ/, and with /r/ for /r/.

⁷ Islamicization has been so complete in western Nüristān that the name *Kati*, which evokes memories of a pagan past, has become completely out of date and is no longer used for the valley of Rangāl and Kati. It refers to the town. The name *Katā* is still widely distributed in the area, however. In the town of Rangāl, *Katā* is still used for the valley, but *Rangāl* is the name of the town.







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(alley) and in a few enclaves close to the Indus border in Chitral State, Pakistan. It appears to have little dialect variation. A major boundary separating Eastern and Western Kataviri demarcates the distribution of present tense morphs: Western Kataviri has forms in *-nu-*, while Eastern Kataviri has forms in *-tu-*.²

Kamviri is spoken in Kombkoin (Kämdeš) and other villages by approximately four thousand members of the Kom tribe, and by members of the Kșto tribe inhabiting the town of Kștüm (Kuštoz). Kșto tribesmen also inhabit the village of Dûgul (Daren), but there they speak Kalasha-alâ (see below). The Kom and their client Jaži tribesmen who inhabit the settlements of Lamerot (Langorbats) and Badrovâl on the Čitrâl (Kumar) River across the Afghan frontier in Pakistan speak a somewhat divergent dialect of Kamviri called Lameriviri. Otherwise Kamviri is fairly uniform, with only slight regional and social variations. The few Kom families controlling the area along the right bank of the Kunar River from the settlements of Pâzîjir (Pažingar), Ganyur, and Cümük (Candak) have assimilated with the surrounding Afghans and speak Pashto. Across the Kunar the uplands drained by the Naři (Naray) Valley are owned by Kom tribesmen who have intermingled with Gujars and Mašwanay Pakhtuns; these Kom have to a large extent adopted Gujarî and Pashto as their first languages.

Several isoglosses separate Kamviri from Kataviri. Some phonological differences that I have noted include: (1) more generalized voicing assimilations in Kamviri; (a) in intervocalic position the following Kataviri/Kamviri correspondences exist:³ /d/ (phonetically [r]) intervocally) *atol/adol* 'cliff', *kry/kr* 'kakók/kayók' 'hen', *ikl/il* 'that', *siz asô/arâ* 'is', *sz/sz* 'kaſi/kuſe' 'husliel', *siz asô (R)/az* 'bull'; (b) after nasals voiceless consonants in Kataviri correspond to voiced consonants in Kamviri: *manç/mançl* 'man', *amçé (P)/amçé* 'they themselves', *damlb/damdl* 'energetic'; (2) loss of semivowels in certain positions in Kamviri; specifically, (a) *u* and *y* are lost in final position, with compensatory lengthening: *duv/dd* 'wood', *datçy/juž* 'duck'; (b) *əvə* is reduced to *ə*: *dəvərâ (R)/dəra* 'flat', *anəos (I)/anɔ*

² Kamviri agrees with Western Kataviri in having present tense forms in *-nu-*.

³ In the following pairs Kataviri forms are given first. The Kataviri forms are from Eastern Kataviri except those noted from Langal (L) and Pôluk (P).

għee': vocalization of unstressed *a* to *ə* (i after vowels); *əvə* in certain words in Kataviri: *pome/pamət* 'between', *aliġ/kal* 'cold', *aliċsu* 'seventeen'.

Mumviri appears to be a transitional dialect between Kamviri and Kataviri. It is spoken in the villages of Mumdün (Mandagal, Bagolgom), Mangul, and Sasku by the Mumo, a tribe that inhabits the central Landay Sin basin between the Kom and Katâ tribes. Characteristics that distinguish Mumviri from Kamviri and Kataviri have not been systematically noted.

Wasi-werl (Prasun, Püruni, Veron) has recently been investigated by Georg Buddruss, who has kindly made the following information available to me. There are three dialects of Wasi-werl. The Upper dialect is spoken in the village of Supu (Iştivi, Shtevgrom), the Central dialect is spoken in the villages of Sæc (Saici, Pronz, Poruns), Učū (Dēwa, Diogram), Ušut (Kuštaki), and Zumūl (Cucum, Satsungrom), and the Lower dialect is spoken in the village of Uşut (Paški).

Kalaşa-alâ (Waigali, Wal-alâ; cf. Kamviri *kalaſvirī*), not to be confused with Kalaşa of Čitrâl, is the language of the Kalaşa people who live mainly in the Waygal Valley and environs. The local name of this area is Kalašum. Kalaşa-alâ is spoken in two major dialects corresponding to the ethnic division between the Varjan, who inhabit the villages of Vaygal (Waigal), Zönčigal (Arans), Jāmač (Jamamesh), and Amešdeš (Ameshos) in the upper Waygal Valley, and the Čipio-Nišey, who live in Nišeygräm, Kegal, Akup, and Mildeš (the latter three forming the district of Čimi) in the lower valley (Nüristânî 1969). The Varjan dialect extends eastward to the Veligal Valley and the villages of Çukl, Maret, and Dûgul, and descendants of former Kalaşa-alâ-speaking inhabitants still reside in the Kom village of Kuŋ (Kolyâ). Within the two major dialects there is further dialect variation from village to village (cf. Morgenstierne 1954).

The appellation Kalaşa appears among other ethnic groups in addition to the Kalaşa of Kalašum. Informants from Saru and Kordar claimed that they were Kalaşa, and although I was not able to verify these claims, I was told by a Kom informant⁴ that the Kalaşa "are the same tribe" as the people of Saru and Kordar. The Kalaşa of Čitrâl have a tradition that they spent some time in the Waygal Valley before entering Čitrâl

Waigali
2 dialects

⁴ Mohammad Azam of Kuŋ.

(Morgenstierne 1965: 189, Sliger 1956: 34), and it is tempting to speculate that *Kaluga* originally designated a group of diverse tribes living in what is now south-central Nūristān.

Keiser (personal communication) spent a brief period in the village of Kaṭar in Tregām. His informants reported that there is a slight difference between the Tregāmī dialect spoken in Kaṭar and the Tregāmī dialect of the neighboring village of Gāmbīr. M. A. Nūristāni (personal communication) states that the inhabitants of Tregām are ethnically distinct from the Kalaya. However, we still lack sufficient linguistic material to establish definitely the position of Tregāmī (Gāmbīr) vis-à-vis Kalaya-alū (v. Morgenstierne 1952: 122 et seq., Morgenstierne 1954: 158-59, Buddruss 1960: 8).

Aşkun (Ashkun) is spoken in several dialects in southwestern Nūristān. The main body of the Aşkūru tribe inhabits the Aşkūgal (Kolatā, Ma-jegal) Valley, which drains southwestward into the Alingar River. These people speak a dialect which differs from that of their neighbors in the Titin Valley to the south (cf. Morgenstierne 1929). The inhabitants of the Bajaygal Valley further up the Alingar are reported to speak a third dialect. Across a mountain ridge to the east of the Aşkūru two tribal groups, each with its own dialect, center on the villages of Sōru (Wāmā) and Gramsōrgrām (Ačānn) off the Peč River.

Buddruss also reports (personal communication) that he has gathered data on the language spoken in Grangal (local name Gōgal) in the Digal Valley. Morgenstierne's Nangalāmī (Ningalāmī) informant claimed that the dialects of Nangalām and Grangal were the same (Morgenstierne 1950: 58), and Buddruss's Grangall data are essentially identical with Morgenstierne's Nangalāmī materials (Morgenstierne 1950: 59 ff.).

Morgenstierne's (1967) observations on the groupings of some eastern Pašal dialects have been corroborated by Keiser (personal communication; see now Keiser 1971) during his recent anthropological investigations in the Pašal-speaking village of Oygal (Waygal, Wegal) in the upper Darra-i Nūr area. Morgenstierne notes that among the North-Eastern Group the dialects of the villages of Arit, Kāqāq, and Kordar form a subgroup as against the dialects of the villages of Ait (Tālās) and Kāqāq (1967: 26). According to Keiser the dialects of Kāqāq, Sāw, and Ait,

Şumāst (except for one section where speakers of Şumāst reside), and Kordar belong to the Çugani tribe (cf. Tanner 1881 and Kalaya-alū *čukorč*, Aşkun *čudri* 'man from Kordar'), while Çalas and Kuyangal are separate. It would appear from this that we could posit a Çugani dialect and a Çalas-Kuyangal dialect as constituting the North-Eastern Pašal dialect group (but note the similarities between the Çugani Şumāst dialect and the Çalas dialect as recorded by Dvoryankov [1964]; cf. Morgenstierne 1967: 336).

Keiser also notes some tribal groupings which may be superimposed on Morgenstierne's list of South-Eastern Pašal dialects. Members of the Sum tribe inhabit the Sāw and Nurlām Valleys in Baghmān and the Oygal Valley off Darra-i Nūr, and they apparently speak a language with only minor dialect variation. Keiser reports that the Sum call their language *Sale* (1971: 6), which may be compared to Morgenstierne's *Şäfi/Şäfī* (1967: 21, 332). (The Damenč tribe inhabits the upper Kulmān Valley on the Laglanān side, the villages of Bar Koč (Safar Qala) and Jāšagal in the lower Oygal basin, and the Gamberay tract between Baghmān and Darra-i Nūr (cf. Tanner 1881).) Keiser states that the inhabitants of ten villages (including Bamba Koč, Lamājek, and Sutan) in upper Darra-i Nūr form a single tribal group with their own dialect, while the residents of the lower portion of Darra-i Nūr are a separate and perhaps nontribally organized people. Morgenstierne notes that the Oygal and Nurlām dialects have features in common (1967: 22), and it is probable that a single Sum (*Sale* or *Şäfī*) dialect exists. The distribution of the remainder of the dialects in Morgenstierne's South-Eastern Group is not entirely clear, but if the correlation between indigenous political (tribal and subtribal) groupings and dialect groupings which is found throughout the neighboring region is taken as an indicator, we may expect to find the existence of a Damenč dialect, an Upper Darra-i Nūr dialect, and a Lower Darra-i Nūr dialect when more data are available.

An updated version of Morgenstierne's 1963 classification, incorporating the preceding remarks on dialect distributions, appears in Table 1. For mnemonic convenience I have named the various linguistic groups, which in Morgenstierne's outline are simply numbered.

In Morgenstierne's Nāristān Classification, see 1967: 4, 10, 20.

(map taken out)

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pp. 297-305

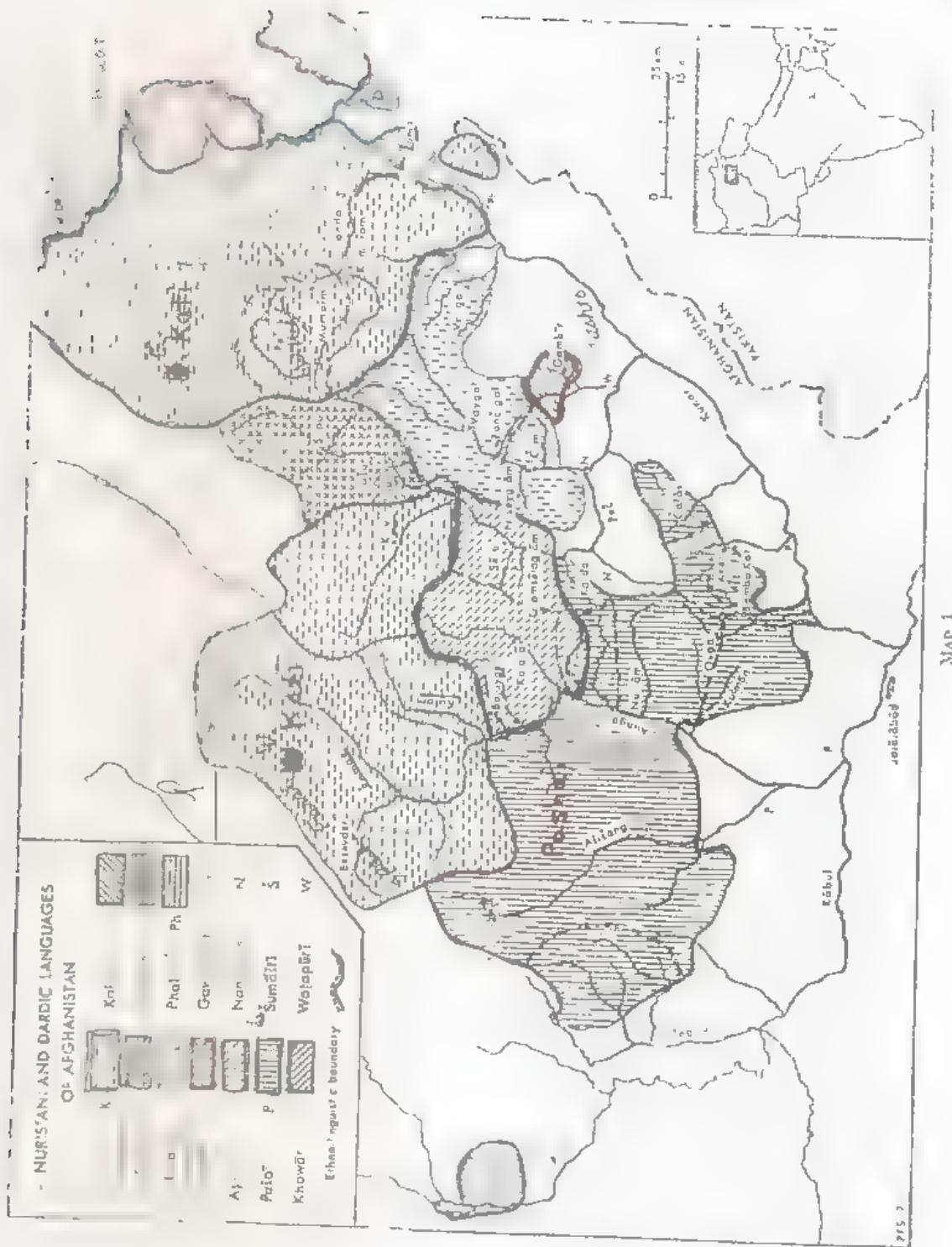


Table 1

North and Dardic Languages
(after Morgenstierne 1961)

Nur (or Central) Branch of Indo-Iranian

1. Nur (or Central)

Kurdistani

Western Kurdistani, including the dialects of Tannigöl, Tezüm, Küvi, and Hörük

Eastern Kurdistani

Kurdistani

Kurdistani proper

Lamdiyanî

Mumvirî

2. Wasi-weri (Parsun, Pârshî, Wasî-weri, Verîm)

Upper Wasi-weri

Central Wasi-weri

Lower Wasi-weri

3. Kaloş-alâ (Waigalî, Wâl-alâ)

Vaygal-alâ, including the dialects of Vaygal, Zbîn-çigal, Jâmaç, Arneşdeş, and Veligal

Cima-Nîşey-alâ, including the dialects of Çimî and Nîşeygrîm

4. Tregümlî (Gambîrî), including the dialects of Gambîr and Kuşar

5. Aşkun (Ashkun, Ashkundî)

Aşkûru-vêri, including the dialects of Kolatâ, Titîn, and Bajaygol

Sömu-vîri (Wâmû)

Gramşîra-vîri

Dardic Languages (Northwest Indo-Iranian)

Central Group

6. Khowâr (Çitîrî, Çitârî, Arnyî, Arnyâ, Qâşqârî)

7. Kabata

Northern Kabata

Southern Kabata

The two surveys under consideration may now be reviewed in light of the preceding account. The Voegelin's article will be dealt with first, since it appears to be the source of some of the errors in Kürüm's survey.¹² Voegelin and Voigtman state that the division of Dardic into three major groups (Western Dardic or Kâfir, Central Dardic, and Eastern Dardic proper) is "given by . . . linguistic facts" (1961: 1). This classification is based on the

¹² Other components of the "Dardic" group, such as the Dardic (11) and the discussed here. The term "Central Dardic" is not listed by the sources. Cf. the traditional system of the language.

Kurdistani Group

8. Dazîrî

9. Gwâr-bâlî (Narîsâlî, Narâtî)

10. Ningalâmi-Gangâvâlî (Ningalâmî)

11. Sînîsî

12. P. sîl, Langarâmî, Deh-gânî, Degano

Northeastern Group

Çuganî dialect

Çûs-Kurâzî dialect

Southeastern Group

Suri dialect (Suri, Sarî)

Dâment dialect

Upper Darra-i Nôr dialect

Lower Darra-i Nôr dialect

miscellaneous dialects (v. Morgenstierne 1957: 21-22)

Southwestern Group (v. Morgenstierne 1967: 14-16)

Northwestern Group (v. Morgenstierne 1967: 16-19)

Central (Kohistanî) Group

13. Baškârî (Gawî, Gârî, Dîrî)

14. Terwâlî

15. Maiyâñ, including the dialects Kanyawâlî, Dûcêrî,

Çîlîs, Gowro, etc.

16. Wâlupârî-Kuşärqalâl

17. Tîrahî

Şînâ Group

18. Şînâ proper, including the dialects Gilgitî, Astöri, Çîlîs, Gurêzi, Brûkjâ of Drâs, and Brûkpâ of Dah and Hanû

19. Phalûrâ (Palala, Palola, ~~Unggarik~~)

Phalûrâ proper (Aşrettî, Biydrî)

Sâwi

20. Dâmitî

21. Kaşmîrî (Kâşur)

Kaşmîrî proper

Kaşlawâlî

miscellaneous transitional dialects

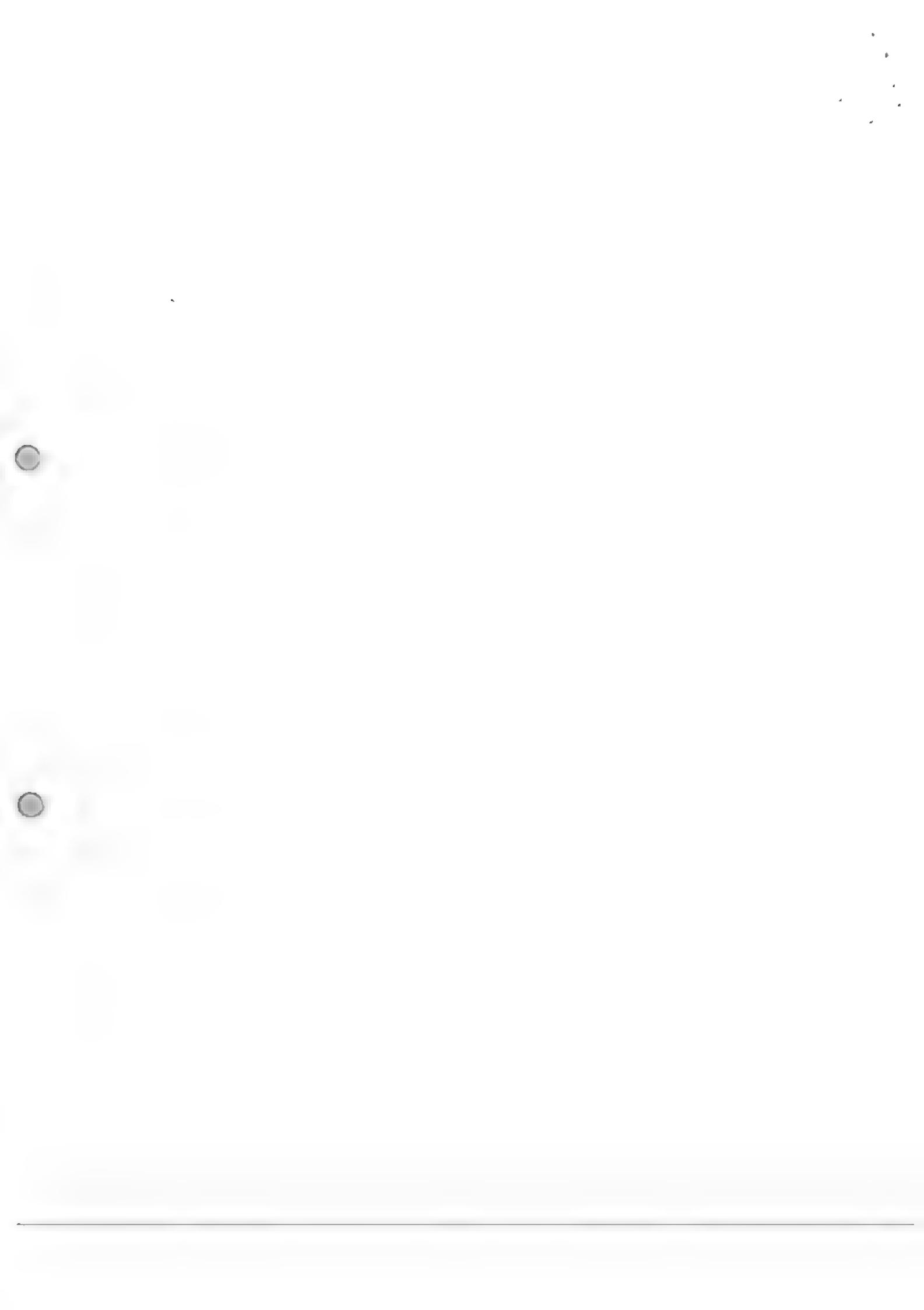
one proposed by Grierson (1919: 2), and his "Kâfir" group has never been accepted by Morgenstierne (v. Morgenstierne 1926: 50 ff. for an early argument against including the Nuristâni languages with Kalaya, Gwâr-bâlî, etc.). The available linguistic evidence surely shows that Grierson's classification must be discarded as untenable.

The most common error in the Voegelin's list of groups is the placement establishing "Prasun" as a group distinct from "Wasi-weri,"

which is clearly wrong. The same error is found in the Voegelin's list of dialects, where "Tigray" is placed among the "Kâfir" dialects.

Another common error is the inclusion of "Kâfir" as a group, which is clearly wrong. The same error is found in the Voegelin's list of dialects, where "Tigray" is placed among the "Kâfir" dialects.





Dasi" and "Wāgali" refer to the language spoken in Chitral, which is spoken east of, and in Hazara land in the villages listed in the Voegelin quotation (see above and Map 1). The fact that Morgenstierne's data were gathered from informants in Chitral hardly implies that the entire body of *wāgali*-speakers resides there (Morgenstierne 1932: 65).

Another serious error is the listing of "Wangell" and "Zhonjigali" as a separate group of languages (p. 285). "Waigeli" and "Wai-ala" (p. 286) are the same language, which has been called Kalasa-alā in the present paper. "Zhonjigali" refers to the Varjan dialect of the village of Zōncigal (Arans) (cf. Morgenstierne 1954).

Likewise, the Voegelins list "Bashkarik" (p. 287) separately from the "Kohistani dialect" Gārwi (p. 290), but they are the same language. "Garwi" is the name used by Grierson (1919: 507 ff.), while Morgenstierne (1940), in accordance with Biddulph (1880), prefers "Bashkarik."

Damēlī is a separate language markedly different from Phalūra, and the Voegelins' speculation that Damēlī and Phalūra may be "divergent dialects of a single Dangarik language" (p. 291) is wholly unfounded.

"Gujari," listed on p. 288, is not a Dardic language. In an earlier chapter (p. 258) the Voegelins follow Grierson in listing Gujarī as a dialect of Rajasthani, which may be closer to the truth. Gujarī is spoken in pockets throughout much of the Dardic area, including some remote grazing grounds in eastern Nuristan.

No mention is made of Tregāmī, Nangalāmī, or Wotapūrī-Kaṭāqalātī (Morgenstierne 1932: 20 ff., 1950: 58 ff., Buddruss 1960). In their earlier chapter on Indic-languages the Voegelins list Dūmākī as an "unclassified gypsy dialect" (p. 276), rather than a Dardic language.

The Voegelins erroneously misplace the location of Šumātī with respect to Gawar-bātī by stating that "Šumāshī speakers live 60 miles further up the Kunar River on the Chitral frontier" (p. 287). This is a curious distortion of Morgenstierne's statement regarding the location, relative to Šumātī, of the speakers of GAWAR-BĀTĪ (Morgenstierne 1945: 241). See Map for the proper location of Šumātī.

"Shekhani," "Hādimuk," and "Bārgroqatāl" are listed as dialects of Kallī (p. 286). "Shekhani," the dialect mentioned in the above list, is a dialect of "Bādimuk" (Kāśvīrī *Bādamuk*) and Bā-

dimuk, which also belong under Eastern Dardic.

(This fact to be confused with Kalasa-alā) is spoken in the valleys of Rambur, Bāmberet, and Dharō of the Chitral River to the north of the town of Dros, in addition to the area mentioned on p. 286 (Morgenstierne 1965).

The Voegelins' "Ashret" (p. 290) must refer to the dialect of Phalūra spoken in the village of Ašret in southern Chitral, which is the basis of Morgenstierne 1941, rather than the dialect spoken in the village of a similar name in Dir Kohistān (cf. the entry *Ač(h)ařt* in Morgenstierne 1941: 52). The language spoken in Sāw (Sau) is a dialect of Phalūra (Morgenstierne 1941: 9; Buddruss 1967).

The list of Paṣai dialects given by the Voegelins (p. 287) is incomplete. For a fuller account of the Paṣai dialects see Morgenstierne 1967.

The Voegelins do not indicate in detail the sources for their classification. Had they done so, they might have avoided the inconsistencies of their account.

Kachru presents a list of languages in which he uncritically copies the major errors of the Voegelins' 1965 list, while adding a few of his own (1969: 285-86). Thus he follows the Voegelins in listing "Prasun" separately from "Wasi-veri," "Waigali" and "Zhonjigali" separately from "Walāla," and "Bashkarik" separately from "Kohistānī." Gujarī is again erroneously listed as a Dardic language. Kachru compounds these errors by listing "Waigali" and "Zhonjigali" as separate languages rather than as dialects of a single language and by listing "Chitralī," "Chatrārī," and "Ariyā" as separate languages rather than as alternate names for the single Khōwār language (p. 286). He introduces further complications by mis-copying the "Kalāshā-Pashā" subgroup of Grierson's Kāśīr Group as "Kalāshā-Pasha" (p. 285) and listing it as a language coordinate with the others in the "Kāśīr-group," rather than as the heading for a subgroup (cf. Grierson 1919: 2). The dialectal analysis of "Kohistānī" is not Grierson's, as Kachru implies from his citation "Grierson, 1919, pp. 507 ff." (p. 286). The languages Gārwi, Tōrwātī, and Maiyā, which Grierson lists under his "Kohistānī" (1919: 507 ff.) are omitted from Kachru's list (pp. 285-86), as are Damēlī, Phalūra, Šumātī, Nangalāmī, Wotapūrī-Kaṭāqalātī, and Dūmākī, although Kachru refers to several of these in his bibliography and on p. 288. Gawar-bātī is misspelled on pages 285 and 288. It is difficult to understand why Kachru claims

Kalasha

that the classification he presents "has been maintained since the earlier work of Grierson" (p. 285, fn. 3), when the quotations from Morgenstierne and Emeneau given on pp. 286-287 clearly indicate that at least Morgenstierne, Bloch, and Burrow do not subscribe to Grierson's classification. Indeed, which modern scholars with an intimate knowledge of the existing data on the Dardic and Nuristānī languages have maintained Grierson's 1919 classification?

Several minor errors in Kachru's bibliography and footnotes further detract from his presentation. Thus in the bibliography Colonel John Davidson's "Notes on the Bashgall (Kāfir) Language" is entered under a nonexistent "Davidson, J. and B." (p. 302). Morgenstierne's articles on Phalūrā and Damēlī were published in 1941 and 1942, respectively, not in 1940 (p. 304) (although the monograph on Phalūrā belongs to a 1940 series). His works on Pašāl and Kalasā-alā have received superfluous pluralization; the correct titles are *The Pashai Language* and *The Waigali language* (pp. 304, 305). N. A. Dvoryankov has had his surname changed to "Ovorjankov" (p. 305), and the title of his article is a mis-copying of the erroneous listing in Edel'man's (1965) bibliography, rather than the correct "Predvaritel'noe soobshchenie o govorakh gornykh tadzhikov Kunara (Afghanistan)." In footnote 5 (p. 285) we find "Viator Indicus" for "Indicus Viator." Hamp's 1966 article on Kalasa-alā can hardly be a source for Kalasa of Čitrāl (fn. 9, p. 285), nor do Morgenstierne's works on Phalūrā and Damēlī (with erroneous publication dates) and Davidson's monograph on Kati have any conceivable relevance to the "Chatrārī" (Khōwār) language (fn. 19, p. 286).

Although our knowledge of the Dardic and Nuristānī languages is certainly in a retarded state, the situation is not so bad as to justify Kachru's overstatement that "it is not possible to use any sophisticated or rigorous criteria for separating the languages and/or dialects in this family" (p. 286). Nor is his statement that Grierson's and Morgenstierne's works "continue to be the only available analyses of the Dardic group" (p. 286) compatible with his bibliographical references to Buddrus's field research on Pašāl, Añiyā, and Wolapūrī-Kaṭārqalāī (p. 301). There is enough data in the writings of Morgenstierne and Buddrus to enable us to see the outlines of the historical relationships between these languages, if we are willing to examine the material closely.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

- ISK** Institutet for Sammenhørende Kulturskønne, Oslo.
NTS Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvitskap, Oslo.
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1. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
2. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
3. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
4. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
5. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
6. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
7. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
8. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
9. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)
10. *Leucosia* sp. (Lepidoptera)

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